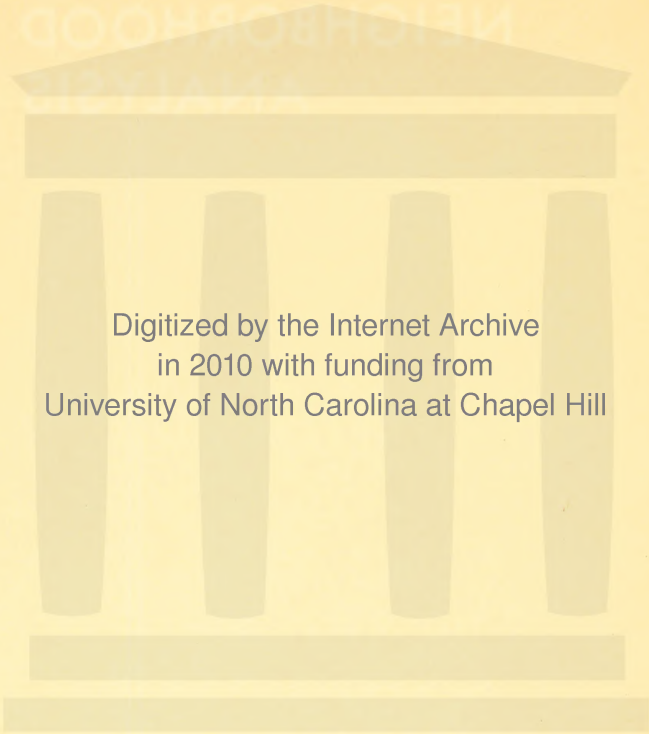
NEIGHBORHOOD ANALYSIS

FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA



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NEIGHBORHOOD ANALYSIS

FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

technical study No. 3

Department of Planning
City of Fayetteville
January, 1963

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PREFACE

In April of this year I was offered employment for the summer as director of the Neighborhood Analysis project for the City of Fayetteville. Since the project dovetailed so neatly with my own interests and previous activities, it was with considerable pleasure that this responsibility was accepted.

Many of the neighborhoods in Fayetteville, as in other cities throughout the nation, are faced with problems which place in jeopardy their desirability as residential areas. These problems, in their totality, are generally referred to as "blight." They include the deterioration and overcrowding of residential structures, excessively high crime and disease rates, and many other factors which are familiar to Fayetteville's citizens as characteristic of the city's "slum" areas. It was the aim, during the course of the project, to measure the extent of blight in Fayetteville, and to pinpoint those areas in which it is most heavily concentrated.

The study's findings present the city with a challenge. During my stay in Fayetteville, I came to know and admire many of the city's residents, both public officials and private citizens. If the progressive spirit shown by these persons is typical of the city as a whole, there can be little doubt that the challenge will be met.

MICHAEL P. BROOKS
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
October 5, 1962

CONTENTS

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THE FAYETTEVILLE FIRE DEPARTMENT

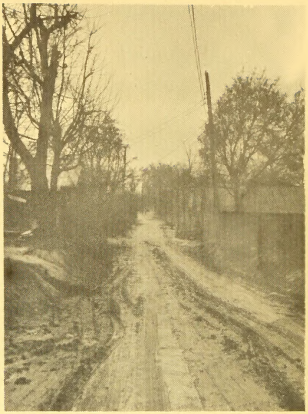
Lt. T. D. Davis, Fire Inspector

THE FAYETTEVILLE ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT

Photographs by
The Planning Department
The Fayetteville Observer

PART ONE:

INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

The Workable Program

In 1953 the President's Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs, acting through its Subcommittee on Urban Redevelopment, Rehabilitation and Conservation, conducted an intensive study of the problems arising from the blighted areas of America's cities. The Subcommittee's findings confirmed what many city dwellers had already long realized: that blighted areas and slums exact a high cost in terms of disease, crime, juvenile delinquency, and economic waste. In its recommendations the Subcommittee emphasized the responsibility which American cities must themselves bear in their slum clearance programs, and suggested that the basic objective of Federal assistance should be to enable cities to help themselves.

President Eisenhower, in his message transmitting to Congress the recommendations now embodied in the Housing Act of 1954, said

> In order to clear our slums and blighted areas and to improve our communities, we must eliminate the cause of slums and blight. This is essentially a problem for our cities. However, Federal assistance is justified for communities which face up to the problem of neighborhood decay and undertake long-range programs directed to its prevention.

In keeping with this emphasis upon self-help, the Housing Act of 1954 contained provisions whereby Federal aid for urban renewal could be obtained only by cities which first prepared acceptable "Workable Programs." A Workable Program is an official plan of action for attacking slums and blight through the utilization of appropriate private and public resources. More specifically, a city's Workable Program must contain the following elements:

1. Effective local codes and ordinances.

2. A comprehensive plan for the community's development.

3. An analysis of the community's neighborhoods, to determine the extent of blight and types of treatment needed in each.

4. An effective administrative organization for the execution of programs and for code enforcement.

5. Adequate local financing resources.

6. A program for relocating, in suitable housing, all families displaced by urban renewal.

7. Active citizen support and participation.

This report, based upon the third item in the above list of elements, is an analysis of Fayetteville's neighborhoods. It utilizes a number of indicators to assess the extent of blight in Fayetteville; it also makes tentative recommendations toward the elimination of that blight. The present report, then, serves the dual purpose of highlighting many facts of vital concern to Fayetteville while also fulfilling the requirements of one element in the Workable Program.

Nature of the Study

The neighborhood is an important aspect of family life. Many activities are carried out within its borders--some cherished, some routine, but all central to our way of life as American city dwellers. The neighborhood provides a geographical framework for informal visiting among friends, for club membership, for children's playgroups, for school attendance, for worship, for quick shopping trips. Whether consciously or unconsciously, most people tend to identify themselves with their neighborhoods. One feels "at home" in his neighborhood; he may have a sense of "belonging" to it.

Given this importance of the neighborhood in urban life, it is essential that the neighborhood be a clean, safe, and healthful place in which to live. The blighted neighborhood, of course, is one which does not possess these attributes. In its extreme form, the slum, it is a neighborhood in which housing conditions are bad, community facilities are inadequate or overcrowded, and disease and crime are commonplace.

It is commonly recognized that bad housing conditions and unhealthy social conditions (disease, crime, etc.) are related to each other, but the exact nature of the relationship is difficult to pinpoint. Are undesirable social conditions the result of bad housing and inadequate facilities? Or, on the other

hand, does the bad housing exist because of the unhealthy social life occurring within it?

There is probably an element of truth in both of these views. Blight operates in a vicious spiral: a bad physical environment is conducive to a social milieu which tolerates, or even encourages, irresponsible behavior; this behavior in turn contributes to the further deterioration of the physical environment; and so on, in an unending downward spiral. If this is true, there is a strong case for taking action to eliminate the physical manifestations of blight. Such action can eliminate one of the forces driving the spiral downward, and perhaps even start it climbing upward. It is not unreasonable to expect considerable social improvement in any neighborhood which undergoes substantial physical improvement. The pleasant neighborhood, standing where a slum once existed, offers a new source of pride to its residents; it gives them a strong incentive for good citizenship.

Slum-dwellers, however, are not the only persons who suffer from blight, nor are they the sole beneficiaries of slum eradication. If blight persists, the entire city is the loser. Slum neighborhoods require public expenditures (on police and fire protection, welfare, etc.) out of all proportion to the number of persons living in them. At the same time, their contribution to the city's tax revenues is proportionately low. Downtown businessmen are disadvantaged if their potential customers must pass through blighted areas on their shopping trips; if sufficiently unpleasant, such trips may simply not be made. Further, the existence of blighted areas is detrimental to the image which the city creates in the minds of both its residents (whose civic pride may consequently suffer) and those who live elsewhere (such as, for example, industrialists interested in bringing new firms to the city).

In short, blight offends the sensibilities of the concerned citizen in at least two ways. His humanitarian impulses are aroused through awareness of the overcrowded, unhealthy, and generally unhappy existence which is the slum-dwellers lot. And his business instincts are revolted by the economic waste which inevitably accompanies blight. Slums are decidedly "bad business," both socially and economically.

Considerations such as these underlie the present report on Fayetteville's neighborhoods. As already noted, the purpose of the study reported herein has been to identify Fayetteville's "trouble spots," to determine the extent of the blight contained in each of them, and to tentatively suggest steps which might be taken to eradicate that blight.

The maps and data contained in this report should be useful in at least three ways:

1. If Fayetteville succeeds in getting an urban renewal program under way, this report, by pinpointing the major areas of blight will serve as a useful guide in the selection of project areas.

2. The data contained herein will be useful in the day-to-day activities of the Planning Department and other public and private agencies serving the City. The Planning Department is concerned with Fayetteville not only as it exists at present, but as it will exist ten, twenty, thirty years from now as well. The planning of future development must be based upon a sound knowledge of present conditions; this report contributes to such knowledge.

3. Finally, this report may prove useful to private citizens who, through pride in their city, are themselves concerned with Fayetteville's future. On the one hand, the report highlights the magnitude of the task which currently exists. On the other hand, it serves as a warning for the years to come. Blight does not stand still. It spreads from neighborhood to neighborhood, leaving destroyed property values and deteriorating social life in its wake. It can emerge where least expected, even in neighborhoods which are presently quite sound. The best safeguard against the spread of blight is a concerned and vigilant citizenry. It is hoped that this report will help to foster such a spirit among the citizens of Fayetteville.

Causes of Blight

There is, of course, no single factor which can be identified as the cause of blight. Nor can any list of causative factors aspire to completeness. Just as blight can emerge where least expected, so do its causes vary widely from one situation to another. The following list, however, includes the factors which are generally believed to be most significant in the origin and perpetuation of blight. Certainly all have contributed, in greater or lesser degree, to the existence of blighted areas in Fayetteville.

It should be noted that the factors listed below do not all operate at the same stage in the development of a blighted area. Some are primary causes, i.e., they play major roles in the origination of blight in a given neighborhood. Others are secondary causes in that their effect is largely the perpetuation of blight once it already exists. Most of the factors, however, can be either primary or secondary (or both), depending on the particular set of circumstances involved. For this reason no attempt will be made to separate the one type from the other. It must suffice to say that any given instance of blight will be the end product of a complex interplay among factors such as the following:

1. Poor original design and construction of buildings. The need to house Fayetteville's military personnel, industrial workers, and other residents has,

upon occasian, placed considerable strain upan the available supply of hausing. Some af the buildings canstructed to ease this strain have been so paorly designed ar built as ta assure their deteriaratian at a yaung age. Other buildings, designed specifically for law-incame tenants, have been shaddily constructed with cheap materials and have deteriarated rapidly. Shart-term ecanamics in design and canstruction are often detrimental to the city aver the lang run.

2. Paar original layout af subdivisions. This has been ane af the leading causes af blight in Fayetteville. Many af the original subdivisions in the areas naw blighted were paarly designed, with little consideratian given ta matters such as tapography. As a result these areas have drainage prablems, narrow and circuitous streets, and building lats af such narrow and irregular shapes as to render impossible the canstruction of adequate hauses.

3. The absence, inadequate farmulation, or ineffective enforcement of codes and ardinances. Many af Fayetteville's substandard buildings and faulty subdivisians came inta existence prior to the farmulatian af the cades and ardinances which, at a later time, wauld have prevented them. Building, health, and traffic cades, zaning and subdivisian ardinances--all are impartant weapans in the battle against blight. Where they are absent ar weakly enforced, blight may aperate unimpeded by legal barriers.

4. Faulty land use pattern. This factar has several dimensians. One is that af incampatibility among land uses. Cammercial and industrial enterprises, with their relatively greater noise and traffic generation, aften have deleteriaus effects an nearby residences. The spread af such enterprises inta residential neighbarhaads generally serves as a harbinger af blight. The city's zoning ardinance is designed to prevent such accurrences in the future, but it cannot unda patterns which developed befare its adaptian.

Anather dimensian af this factor is overbuilding (a problem less seriaus in Fayetteville than in many ather cities, but still af some significance). While intensive caverage of the land with structures, at the expense af parks and ather apen spaces, may seem ecanamical at the time af canstructian, it will generally prave castly (in bath human and financial terms) in the lang run. Tightly packed buildings, leaving little or no raam for sunlight, fresh air, and play, are hardly canducive ta a healthy residential enviranment.

5. Obsalescence. Many structures which ance perfarmed their functians quite adequately have become absalete due to mare recent develapments in technalogy, and the urban ecanamy. The large hames af fifty ta a hundred years aga, built ta accammadate a staff af damestic servants in additian to the family itself, have been avershadawed by taday's hame designed with the servantless hausewife faremast in mind. Changes in standards af heating and air canditian-

ing have rendered the large old houses uneconomical as well. Blight frequently attacks areas in which such houses are concentrated, a process which is quickened by the common practice of dividing them into makeshift apartments.

6. Overcrowding. Generally originating in times of housing shortage, overcrowded conditions often persist long after the demand for housing has eased. Such conditions frequently occur in the obsolete buildings mentioned above when they are improperly converted from single to multi-family dwellings. Discrimination also contributes to overcrowding, since it greatly narrows the range of housing possibilities open to members of minority groups.

7. Heavy traffic. While all cities require major thoroughfares for the fast and efficient movement of traffic, the residences along such streets will nevertheless suffer blighting effects (from noise, exhaust fumes, litter, safety hazards, etc.). "Better" neighborhoods are generally characterized by separation of residences from major thoroughfares, whether by large setbacks, foliage screening, or other techniques for minimizing contact. Blighted neighborhoods, on the other hand, commonly feature an unhappy mixture of automobiles and playing children.

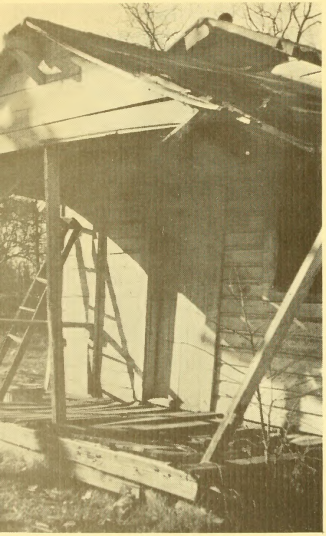
8. Inadequate public services. Blighted areas tend to be inadequately served with recreation space, street improvements, sewer and water service, and other public facilities. Part of the reason is found in the sheer magnitude of present needs, needs which impose great pressure upon the personnel and equipment of relevent city agencies. Another part is found in the faulty practices of an earlier era, such as the former disregard for topography and proper street layout which often makes the installation of such facilities prohibitively expensive today.

9. Absentee ownership of rental property. Absentee owners (landlords who don't live near their tenants) are often somewhat negligent in maintaining their rental properties located in blighted neighborhoods. Even if well-intentioned, they are occasionally unaware of changes occurring in the areas surrounding their properties. This lack of proper maintenance, coupled with the transient occupancy often characterizing such areas, serves to accelerate the growth of blight.

10. Apathy. Of all the factors which contribute to blight, this is perhaps the most important. Apathy operates both among the slum-dwellers themselves, whose despair with their lot carries them beyond the point of caring about the condition of their neighborhood, and among citizens outside the slum, who are simply "too busy" to be bothered with the problems of blighted areas. Public officials, too, tend to become apathetic, leaning upon their unfounded convictions that "that's just the way slum-dwellers live; we can't do anything about it." Clearly, the development of widespread concern throughout the entire citizenry must be the first step in any attempt to abolish blight.

PART TWO:

BLIGHT IN FAYETTEVILLE



BLIGHT IN FAYETTEVILLE

Blight reveals itself in many ways. Some, such as the physical deterioration of buildings and the superabundance of poorly-stored trash, are readily apparent to the outsider. Others make their impact not upon his eyes, but upon his pocketbook as a taxpayer. But regardless of the form taken, all manifestations of blight indicate the existence of a highly undesirable situation, one which is an omnipresent reality in the lives of those persons who must live in slums.

The greater part of this report is devoted to the measurement and analysis of blight as it exists in Fayetteville. At the outset of the study the City was divided into twenty-one separate study areas or "neighborhoods" (see Plate 1 on page 13). It is impossible to identify areas of complete internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity, but an attempt was nevertheless made to draw the boundary lines in a manner with which Fayetteville's residents could themselves generally agree. Thus particular attention was given to types of land use, ethnic composition, service areas for schools and other community facilities, and the like. Wherever possible physical boundaries, such as major thoroughfares and topographical features, were employed. Fayetteville was not divided into census tracts for the 1960 Census; this fact, while imposing limitations on the availability of data, nevertheless permitted a freer delineation of "natural" neighborhoods than is the case with studies wherein neighborhoods are simply equated with census tracts.

Table 1 on page 14 shows that the resulting neighborhoods ranged in size, in 1960, from 607 persons (Neighborhood 20, with 1.3 per cent of the city's total population) to 5,049 persons (Neighborhood 17, with 10.7 per cent of the total). In general the more populous neighborhoods are those near the center of the city, since they are more densely settled than those farther out. The relatively small population of the CBD (Central Business District) stems from the predominance within it of land uses other than residential. Table 1 also shows the distribution of non-white persons through the city as does Plate 2. Non-whites occupy 75 per cent or more of the housing units in Neighborhoods #4 - Cumberland Street, #5-Murchison Road, #6-Seabrook Road, #7-Council Heights, #15-Blount Street and #17-Southeast Fayetteville.

NEIGHBORHOODS IN FAYETTEVILLE

Number	Designation
1	Tokay
2	Rosehill Road
3	Ramsey Street
4	Cumberland Street
5	Murchison Road
6	Seabrook Road
7	Council Heights
8	Cumberland Heights
9	Eutaw
10	Fort Bragg Road
11	Devane Street
12	Van Story Hills
13	Owen Drive
14	Haymount
15	Blount Street
16	Massey Hill
17	Southeast Fayetteville
18	Cool Spring Street
19	Campbellton
20	Dunn Road
CBD	Central Business District

The twenty-one neighborhoods have been analyzed in terms of twenty-one characteristics, each a useful index of blight. The present section (Part Two) of this report shows, in graphic and tabular form, the findings of these analyses. Part Three summarizes the study and draws conclusions regarding the location of Fayetteville's major "trouble spots." It also contains tentative recommendations for treatment of these areas.

NEIGHBORHOODS

PLATE 1

TABLE 1

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

Neighborhood	Population (1960)	Per Cent of Total	Per Cent of Housing Units Occupied by Non-Whites
1	1,545	3.3	0.0
2	1,048	2.2	5.2
3	2,256	4.8	10.5
4	2,476	5.2	79.7
5	1,971	4.2	78.1
6	2,258	4.8	99.8
7	1,581	3.4	99.0
8	1,395	3.0	0.5
9	2,387	5.1	0.1
10	4,292	9.1	0.2
11	2,938	6.2	6.9
12	1,552	3.3	1.0
13	700	1.5	0.0
14	2,738	5.8	5.2
15	3,223	6.8	82.3
16	2,810	6.0	2.3
17	5,049	10.7	92.9
18	2,091	4.4	6.3
19	3,255	6.9	20.7
20	607	1.3	0.0
CBD	934	2.0	16.6
Total	47,106	100.0	31.0

The indices of blight employed in the study have been grouped in four categories:

1. Housing characteristics, including data on rental patterns, the condition of housing units, and overcrowding.

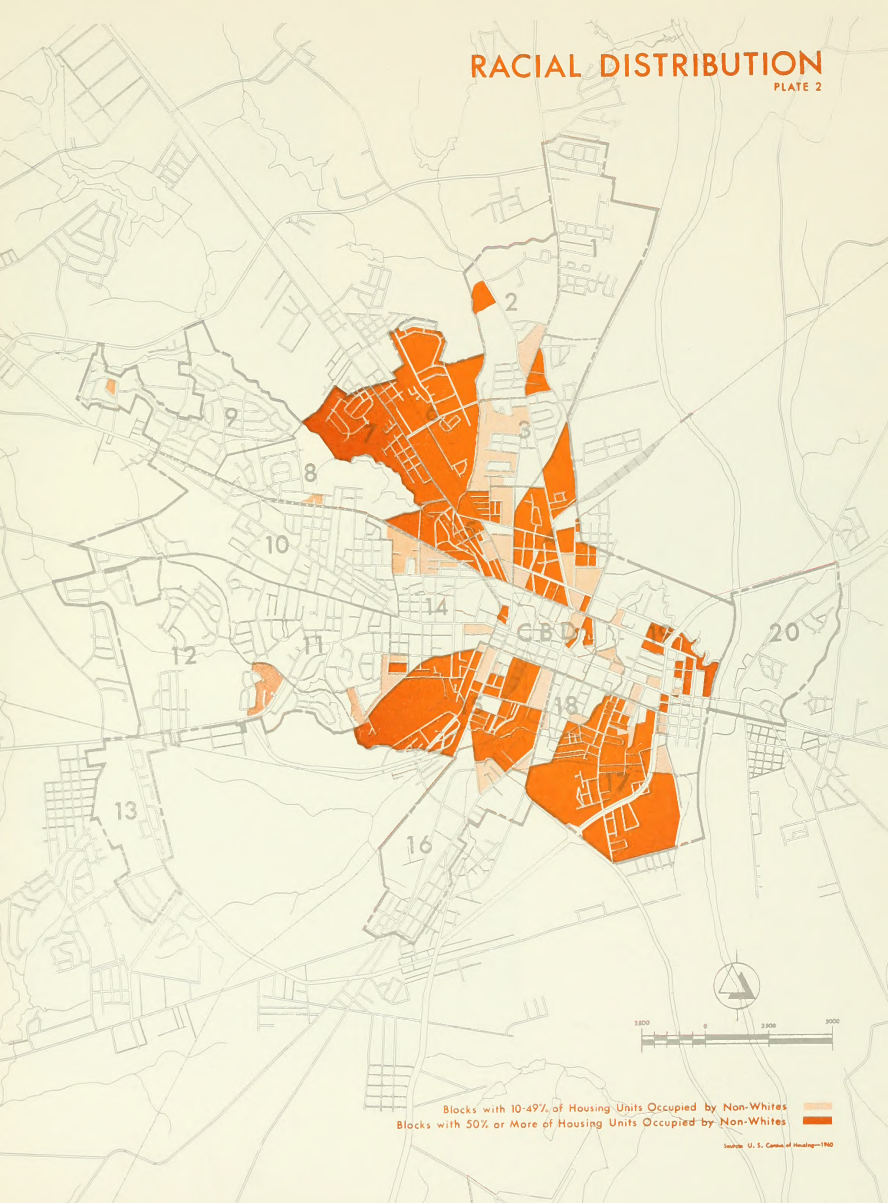
2. Economic characteristics, including data on property values and rents.

3. Environmental characteristics, including data on mixed land use, major fires, unpaved and narrow streets, pedestrian accidents, privies, refuse storage deficiencies, and rubble piles.

4. Social characteristics, including data on major crimes, juvenile delinquency, illegitimacy, infant mortality, tuberculosis, and venereal disease.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION

PLATE 2



NOTE

The maps and tables showing Housing Characteristics are based upon data collected by the U. S. Bureau of the Census in its 1960 Census of Housing. The Bureau reported its data by blocks, and our maps have been prepared accordingly. In addition, data was reported in terms of housing units, defined by the Bureau of the Census as follows:

> A house, an apartment or other group of rooms, or a single room is regarded as a housing unit when it is occupied or intended for occupancy as separate living quarters, that is, when the occupants do not live and eat with any other persons in the structure and when there is either (1) direct access from the outside or through a common hall or (2) a kitchen or cooking equipment for the exclusive use of the occupants.

The housing unit is to be distinguished from group quarters, which

> are located most frequently in institutions, hospitals, nurses' homes, rooming and boarding houses, military and other types of barracks, college dormitories, fraternity and sorority houses, convents, and monasteries.

HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS

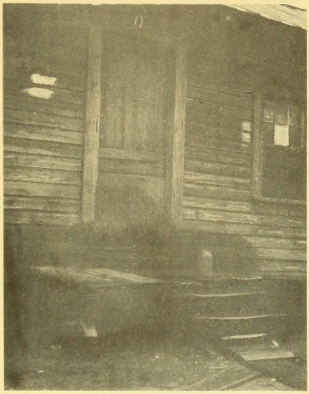


Plate 3: Renter Occupancy

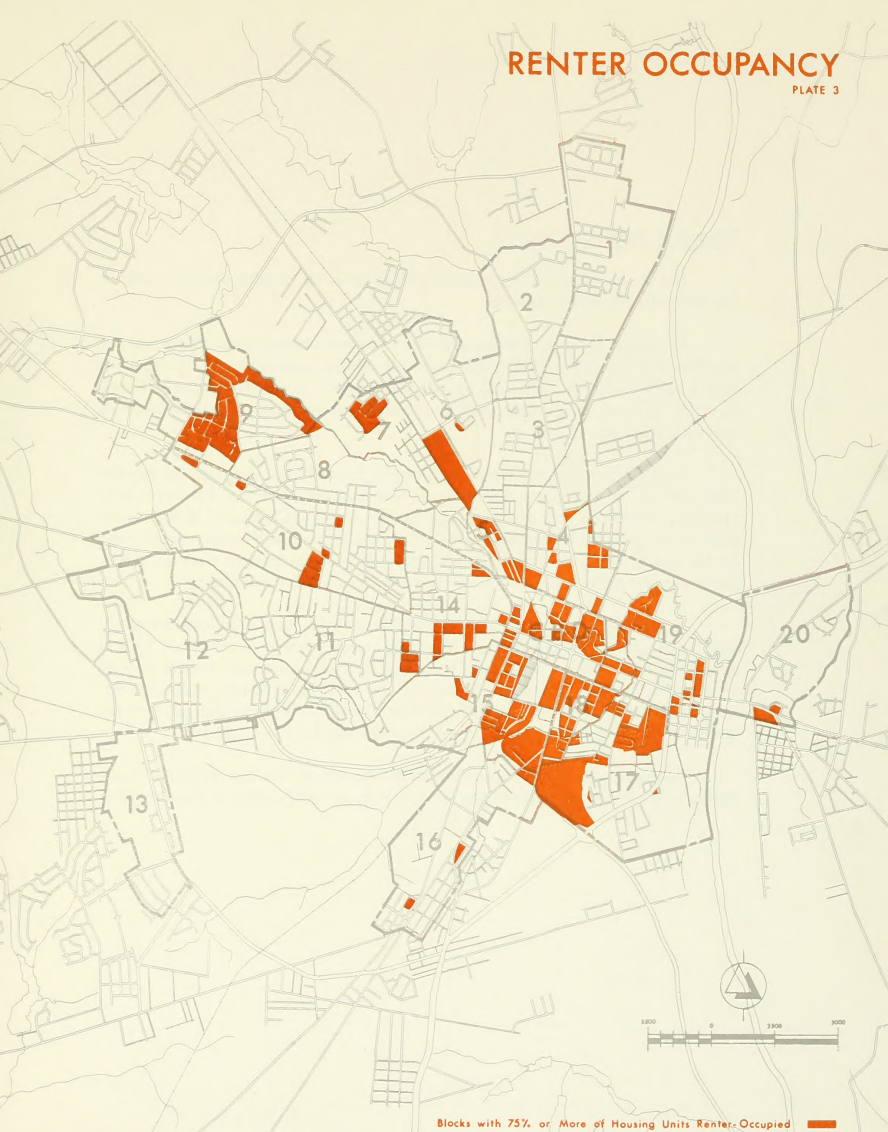
The existence of many rental properties in a neighborhood does not automatically indicate the presence of blight. Indeed, the "apartment districts" of many cities contain some of their most fashionable housing accommodations. Many persons, such as the newly-married young couple, the single working man or woman, or the older couple whose children have left home, simply prefer apartment living to the greater responsibilities of home ownership. Further, the resident who supplements his regular income through ownership and rental of a second house, is, in most cases, doing nothing to further the spread of blight.

While the mere fact of renter occupancy does not cause slums, however, it remains true that blight and rental tenure are often found together; slum dwellers are predominantly renters, not owners. Thus in most cities -- and Fayetteville is no exception--a map showing the heaviest concentration of rental properties will generally pinpoint some of the most blighted areas as well. The major reasons for this have already been touched upon: the frequent ownership of rental properties by absentee landlords who neglect their maintenance responsibilities; the gravitation to rental areas of persons whose incomes are too low to permit home ownership; and the rapid turnover of tenants in many rental areas often resulting in a lack of concern for upkeep by the tenants themselves.

Plate 3 shows those blocks in which 75 per cent or more of the housing units are renter-occupied. Some, of course, are in stable rental areas relatively free of blight (the rental blocks in Neighborhood #9-Eutaw are a good example). As subsequent plates will show, however, Plate 3 does indeed indicate some of the city's more blighted areas.

RENTER OCCUPANCY

PLATE 3



Blocks with 75% or More of Housing Units Renter-Occupied

Source: U. S. Census of Housing—1960

Plate 4: Condition of Housing

The U. S. Census of Housing in 1960 evaluated housing units in terms of the following three categories:

1. Sound housing is that which has no defects, or only slight defects which are normally corrected during the course of regular maintenance. Examples of such defects include: lack of paint; slight damage to porch or steps; small cracks in walls, plaster, or chimney; broken gutters or downspouts; or slight wear on doorsills or floors.

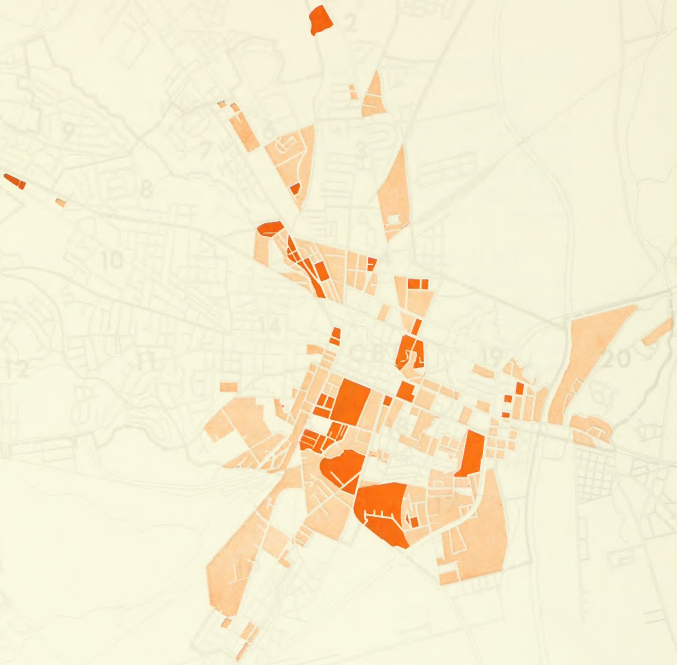
2. Deteriorating housing needs repair beyond that entailed in regular maintenance. It has one or more defects that must be corrected if the unit is to continue to provide safe and adequate shelter. Examples include: shaky or unsafe porch or steps; holes, open cracks, or missing materials over a small area of the floors, walls, or roof; rotted window sills or frames; deep wear on stairs, floors, or doorsills; broken or loose stair treads or missing balusters.

3. Dilapidated housing is that which is unfit for human habitation. It may be of inadequate original construction; it may have so many lesser defects as to require extensive repair or rebuilding; or it may have one or more defects of a critical nature. Examples of the last include: holes, open cracks, or missing materials over a large area of the floors, walls, roof, or other parts of the structure; sagging floors, walls, or roof; or damage by fire or storm.

Housing units in bad condition constitute one of the best available indicators of blight. Plate 4 illustrates the location of such housing in Fayetteville.

CONDITION OF HOUSING

PLATE 4



Blocks with over 50% of Housing Units Deteriorating or Dilapidated

Blocks with over 50% of Housing Units Dilapidated

Source: U. S. Census of Housing—1960

Plate 5: Inadequate Plumbing

Plumbing is inadequate in housing units which are not equipped with the plumbing facilities needed for the sanitary functioning of a household. Specifically, the U. S. Census of Housing considers the plumbing to be inadequate in any housing unit lacking one or more of the following: hot and cold water piped inside the structure, and a flush toilet and bathtub (or shower) inside the structure for the exclusive use of the occupants of the unit.

The block data reported by the Bureau of the Census includes information on plumbing facilities for sound and deteriorating housing units only; no figures are given for the plumbing in dilapidated units. In preparing Plate 5 and the relevant column in Table 3 on page 28, we have assumed all dilapidated housing units to contain inadequate plumbing; this seems safer than the alternative assumptions of either no inadequate plumbing in dilapidated units, or a proportion of inadequate plumbing similar to that found in sound and/or deteriorating housing units.

INADEQUATE PLUMBING

PLATE 5

Blocks with 50% or More of Housing Units Lacking Some or All Plumbing Facilities

Source: U. S. Census of Housing—1960

Plate 6: Overcrowding

The 1960 Census of Housing designated as overcrowded all housing units containing 1.01 or more persons per room. This is, of course, an arbitrary figure and necessarily includes some accommodations which are not objectionable. For example, a one-room efficiency apartment occupied by a childless couple need not be overcrowded. At the other extreme, a nine-room home may be quite adequate for a family of ten.

In general, however, the figure of 1.01 is probably a valid measure of overcrowding. In a typical four-room apartment (living room, kitchen, and two bedrooms), a family of four can live in reasonable comfort (assuming rooms of adequate size), the parents having one bedroom and the two children sharing the other. The addition of a third child, however, will probably result in pressure on the sleeping, and other, accommodations.

The majority of the housing units exceeding 1.01 persons per room, then, probably do contain undesirable crowding in varying degrees. Such conditions not only limit privacy, but can play a part in the spread of communicable diseases as well. Plate 6 shows the areas of greatest overcrowding in Fayetteville.

OVERCROWDING

PLATE 6

Blocks with 25% or More of Occupied Housing Units Containing 1.01 or More Persons per Room

Source: U. S. Census of Housing—1960

TABLE 2

OCCUPANCY CHARACTERISTICS

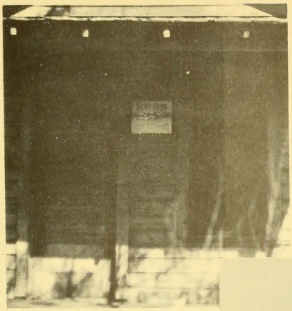
Neighborhood	No. of h.u.'s	Owner Occupied h.u.'s	Owner Occupied %	Renter Occupied h.u.'s	Renter Occupied %	Vacant h.u.'s	Vacant %
1	429	304	70.9	110	25.6	15	3.5
2	297	175	58.9	111	37.4	11	3.7
3	681	429	63.0	201	29.5	51	7.5
4	758	254	33.5	432	57.0	72	9.5
5	518	216	41.7	282	54.4	20	3.9
6	484	286	59.1	164	33.9	34	7.0
7	433	146	33.7	256	59.1	31	7.2
8	435	278	63.9	130	29.9	27	6.2
9	741	279	37.7	428	57.7	34	4.6
10	1,418	812	57.3	540	38.1	66	4.6
11	892	629	70.5	237	26.6	26	2.9
12	440	343	78.0	78	17.7	19	4.3
13	204	153	75.0	27	13.2	24	11.8
14	1,006	366	36.4	575	57.2	65	6.4
15	863	253	29.3	569	65.9	41	4.8
16	865	353	40.8	404	46.7	108	12.5
17	1,192	311	26.1	814	68.3	67	5.6
18	778	134	17.2	535	68.8	109	14.0
19	896	207	23.1	589	65.7	100	11.2
20	181	75	41.4	83	45.9	23	12.7
CBD	396	51	12.9	276	69.7	69	17.4
Total	13,907	6,054	43.5	6,841	49.2	1,012	7.3

TABLE 3

STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS

Neighborhood	No. of h.u.'s	Sound h.u.'s	Sound %	Deteriorating h.u.'s	Deteriorating %	Dilapidated h.u.'s	Dilapidated %	Inadequate Plumbing h.u.'s	Inadequate Plumbing %	Overcrowded* h.u.'s	Overcrowded* %
1	429	405	94.4	18	4.2	6	1.4	19	4.4	45	10.4
2	297	234	78.8	49	16.5	14	4.7	21	7.1	39	13.1
3	681	587	86.2	82	12.0	12	1.8	57	8.3	65	9.6
4	758	408	53.8	243	32.1	107	14.1	346	45.7	138	18.2
5	518	266	51.4	129	24.9	123	23.7	285	55.1	137	26.5
6	484	348	71.9	125	25.8	11	2.3	30	6.3	101	20.8
7	433	369	85.2	46	10.6	18	4.2	81	18.7	95	22.0
8	435	383	88.0	51	11.7	1	0.2	4	0.9	21	4.9
9	741	729	98.4	8	1.1	4	0.5	5	0.7	49	6.6
10	1,418	1,350	95.2	57	4.0	11	0.8	24	1.7	52	3.7
11	892	724	81.2	156	17.5	12	1.3	49	5.5	39	4.4
12	440	427	97.1	9	2.0	4	0.9	4	1.0	32	7.2
13	204	203	99.5	1	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	5.5
14	1,006	917	91.1	62	6.2	27	2.7	89	8.8	75	7.5
15	863	273	31.6	318	36.9	272	31.5	575	66.6	239	27.7
16	865	460	53.2	291	33.6	114	13.2	363	42.0	163	18.9
17	1,192	671	56.3	346	29.0	175	14.7	631	52.9	440	36.9
18	778	411	52.8	264	33.9	103	13.3	362	46.5	151	19.4
19	896	517	57.7	294	32.8	85	9.5	349	38.9	250	27.9
20	181	91	50.3	77	42.5	13	7.2	49	26.8	36	20.1
CBD	396	223	56.3	81	20.5	92	23.2	192	48.6	51	12.9
Total	13,907	9,996	71.9	2,707	19.5	1,204	8.6	3,535	25.4	2,229	16.0

*1.01 or more persons per room.



ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

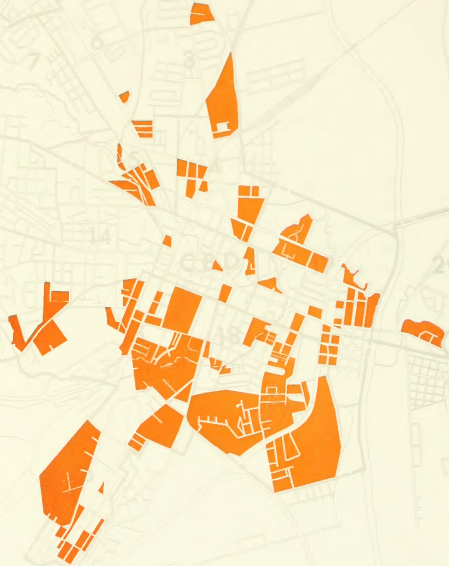
Plate 7: Average Rent

There is no data available on the average income levels of families in Fayetteville's neighborhoods. The 1960 Census of Housing, however, did provide figures which are quite useful in assessing economic characteristics. The amount of rent one pays is determined to a considerable extent by his income; differences between neighborhoods in terms of the former suggest differences in the latter as well. In addition, rent tends to reflect quality of housing and the types of facilities it provides.

Plate 7 shows those blocks in which the average monthly rent paid was $35 or less in 1960. Rents ranged, in that year, from an average of $32 per month (in Neighborhoods #15-Blount Street and #19-Campbellton) to an average of $86 per month (in Neighborhood #13-Owen Drive). Since abnormally low rents are generally indicative of inadequate housing (in terms of space, quality, etc.), Plate 7 presents yet another picture of blight in Fayetteville.

AVERAGE RENT

PLATE 7



Blocks in which Average Monthly Rent is $35.00 or Less

Source: U. S. Census of Housing—1940

Plate 8: Average Value

Plate 8 presents a measuring device similar to that of Plate 7. In this case, however, the focus is upon owner-occupied, not rented, housing units. Plate 8 shows those blocks in which owner-occupied housing units averaged $6,000 or less in value. Here the 1960 range was from a low average of $5,200 in value (in Neighborhood #19-Campbellton) to a high average of $22,500 (in Neighborhood #11-Devane Street).

AVERAGE VALUE

PLATE 8

Blocks in which Average Value of Owner-Occupied Housing Units is $6,000 or Less

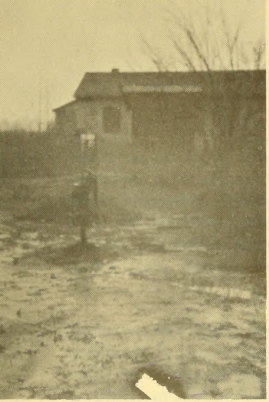
Source: U. S. Census of Housing—1940

TABLE 4

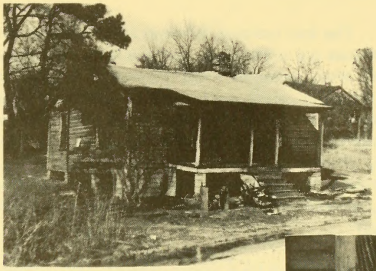
ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

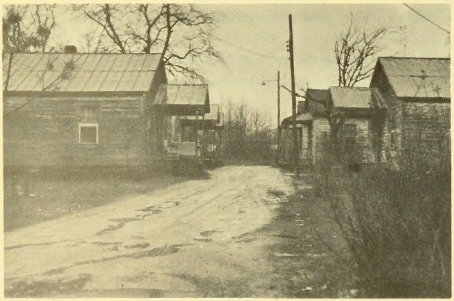
Neighborhood	Average Monthly Rent*	Average Value** Owner Occupied h.u.'s
1	$60	$10,450
2	64	10,675
3	57	8,975
4	38	7,975
5	40	6,750
6	53	10,400
7	56	7,250
8	77	12,000
9	69	17,125
10	73	15,150
11	60	22,250
12	76	18,725
13	86	13,075
14	64	16,025
15	32	6,225
16	35	5,550
17	34	5,675
18	46	10,300
19	32	5,200
20	35	7,575
CBD	44	----
City	$48	$11,750

*To nearest dollar.
**To nearest $25.



ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS





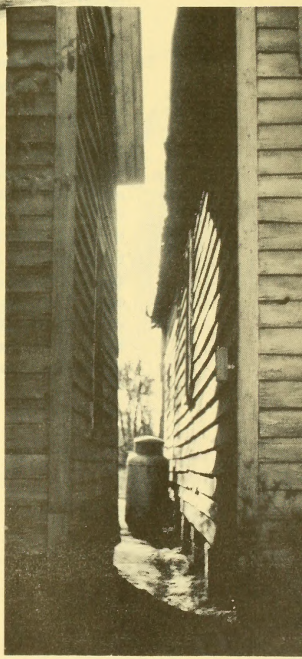


Plate 9: Mixed Land Use

Plate 9 shows block frontages on which residential structures are mixed with commercial and/or industrial structures. Not all the blocks so indicated are necessarily blighted. The notion that no mixing of land uses should occur is no longer widely held by professional planners. In many instances the small shop, corner grocery store, or small and attractive industrial plant may actually benefit the neighborhood (in terms of diversity, convenience, etc.) rather than detract from it.

The fact remains, however, that such cases of compatibility among mixed land uses are exceptions, not the rule. Commercial and industrial establishments often generate large volumes of traffic, noise, and air pollution--conditions which, while not harmful to other businesses, are deleterious to residences located nearby. The residential neighborhood penetrated by commercial and industrial firms is apt to see its homes decline in value, its vacancies increase, and, ultimately, a greater degree of blight set in. The validity of this generalization is suggested in a comparison of the heaviest concentrations of mixed land use, as seen in Plate 9, with the areas highlighted by the other plates in this report.

The search for a means of graphically portraying Fayetteville's mixed land use entailed some problems. It was decided that the technique employed in the section on Housing Characteristics (i.e., shading the entire block if at least one instance of mixed land use occurs in it) would be inappropriate here, since some of the blocks used in the Census of Housing are considerably larger than the effects of mixed land use can logically be expected to extend. The procedure thus adopted for Plate 9 assumes that commercial or industrial establishments will affect residences in the same block (and facing the same street) up to a distance of 600 feet away. For residential blocks of normal size, this means that the presence of one or more business establishments results in the entire block frontage being shaded on Plate 9. However, for abnormally long blocks (such as those commonly found along major thoroughfares near the city's periphery), frontages are shaded only where residences and business establishments occur within 600 feet of each other. The figure of 600 feet is arbitrary, of course, but it seems appropriate for the purpose in view, given the lack of any other commonly accepted standard for the spatial effect of mixed land use.

MIXED LAND USE

PLATE 9

Street Frontages with Mixed Land Use

Source: Fayetteville Planning Department

Plate 10: Major Fires

Major fires, defined here as those causing damage of $1,000 or more, tend to occur more frequently in slums than in the less blighted areas of the city. This fact stems primarily from the fire hazards which accompany crowded living quarters in old frame buildings, inadequate storage of trash or unused furniture (often in cellars, on porches, etc.), faulty electrical wiring of fixtures, unsafe heating devices, and the like--all being conditions which tend to be found in greatest concentration in blighted areas.

As seen in Plate 18, the correlation between degree of blight and number of major fires in the respective neighborhoods is not perfect. Nevertheless there tends to be a concentration of such fires in the same neighborhoods which are being highlighted on other maps. Of the 31 major fires in 1961, Neighborhood #4-Cumberland Street alone had six, or nearly 20 per cent; three neighborhoods (#4-Cumberland Street, #16-Massey Hill and the CBD) accounted for 45 per cent.

It should also be noted that Plate 10 probably understates the relation of blight to fires. A $1,000 fire in a slum building results in the destruction of a larger part of the structure and its contents than does a $1,000 fire in an expensive home. A map showing those fires which caused the greatest damage in proportion to the value of the properties effected would reveal even greater concentration than does Plate 10.

MAJOR FIRES

PLATE 10

Fires Causing Damage of $1,000 or More - 1961

Sources: Fayetteville Fire Department

Plate 11: Unpaved Streets

Approximately one-quarter of the city's street mileage is unpaved. Dust, mud, and poor drainage accompany this condition. Travel over such streets is uncomfortable and awkward. Residential areas served by unpaved streets suffer a consequent reduction in desirability (and value). Another thread is sewn in the blanket of blight. Neighborhoods with at least 40 per cent of their streets unpaved include #1-Tokay, #4-Cumberland Street, #5-Murchison Road, #7-Council Heights, #15-Blount Street, #16-Massey Hill and #17-Southeast Fayetteville.

UNPAVED STREETS

PLATE 11

Unpaved Streets

Source: Fayetteville Engineering Department

Plate 12: Narrow Streets

A second feature of streets relevant to neighborhood blight is their width. Narrow and poorly designed streets foster traffic congestion, pedestrian and vehicular accidents, excessive noise, and gas fumes. Such streets also greatly reduce the ease of passage from one part of the neighborhood or city to another; at best this is a nuisance to those who must travel them daily, at worst a hindrance to emergency vehicles such as fire trucks and ambulances. As with unpaved streets, the end result of narrow streets can only be detrimental to the neighborhood's safety and welfare. Neighborhoods in which 20 per cent or more of the streets are excessively narrow include #5-Murchison Road, #15-Blount Street and #17-Southeast Fayetteville.

NARROW STREETS

PLATE 12

Plate 13: Pedestrian Accidents

There were, in Fayetteville in 1961, 59 accidents involving motor vehicles and pedestrians. Four of these were fatal to the latter. The majority of the accidents, of course, occurred either downtown or on one of the city's major thoroughfares; areas with the heaviest traffic naturally feature the most accidents as well. Often, however, the occurrence of pedestrian accidents in a neighborhood is indicative of an inadequate separation of vehicular from pedestrian traffic. Residences located on a thoroughfare with fast and heavy traffic are at a great disadvantage in terms of safety. A neighborhood tightly packed with structures, leaving little or no open space for play, is apt to feature children playing on sidewalks--and, occasionally, dashing into the street in pursuit of a wayward ball. Residential streets which, for want of off-street parking spaces, are lined with parked cars pose an additional hazard to the pedestrian stepping from between them to cross. A high incidence of pedestrian accidents, then, often indicates not only a heavy volume of traffic, but a faulty arrangement of land uses as well.

PEDESTRIAN ACCIDENTS

PLATE 13

Accidents Involving Pedestrians - 1961

Source: Fayetteville Traffic Bureau

Plate 14: Privies

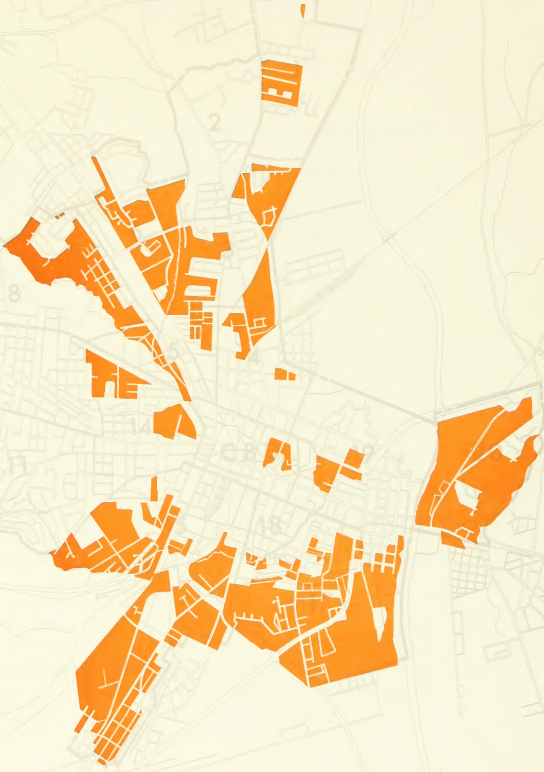
As cities have increased in population, one of their most serious problems has been the search for safe methods of disposing of human waste. The development of municipal water-carried sewage disposal systems has provided the most satisfactory solution thus far. Reliance upon such systems, however, is far from universal. Use of the pit privy persists in many areas, despite efforts of public health officials to clear the cities of such devices.

A survey undertaken by the Cumberland County Health Department in 1961 revealed the existence of 871 privies scattered among 122 blocks within Fayetteville's city limits. As Plate 14 shows, the greatest concentration occurred near the outer boundaries of the city, although many privies were found close to its center as well. In any event, the survey showed there to be one privy per every 16 housing units in the city--a rather high ratio for an urbanized area in 1961.

Little need be said regarding the blighting effect of privies. Their offensiveness to standards of both health and aesthetics (olfactory as well as visual) are readily apparent.

PRIVIES

PLATE 14



Blocks with One or More Privies

Source: Cumberland County Health Department

Plate 15: Refuse Deficiencies

The American family is highly productive of refuse (garbage, waste paper, cans and bottles, etc.). The major problems related to such refuse are its storage, its collection, and its disposal. The latter two are municipal responsibilities, but the first, storage, depends upon the householder himself.

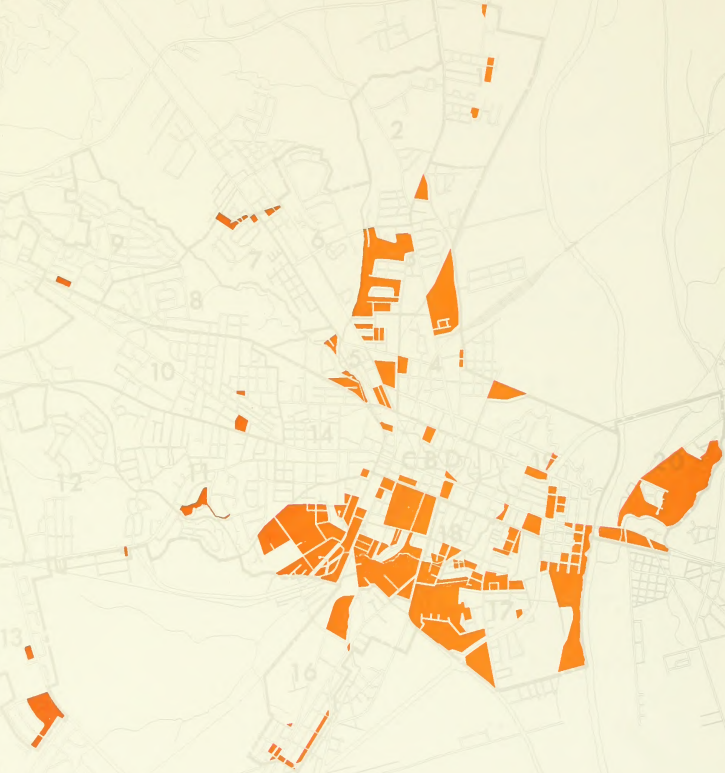
Inadequate storage of refuse is yet another factor related to neighborhood blight. Exposed garbage breeds flies, attracts rodents, and provides an abundant food supply for stray dogs and cats. Open containers result in foul odors and unsightly vistas. They catch rain water, thus providing mosquitoes with a convenient breeding site.

Another finding of the Cumberland County Health Department's 1961 survey was that 48 per cent of Fayetteville's housing units have inadequate or improper refuse storage facilities. An especially prevalent deficiency is the use of open 55-gallon oil drums for such storage. These containers fail to meet minimum standards because of their excessive weight (30-35 pounds when empty), their lack of handles or tight lids, and their difficulty to clean. They are frequently used (or misused) as incinerators, resulting in excessive smoke and odor and an accumulation of unburned garbage which attracts flies and rats.

Refuse deficiencies in the city are so numerous as to permit the preparation of Plate 15 on the basis of those blocks in which all housing units have inadequate storage facilities. It should be noted that many blocks are not indicated which, though less than 100 per cent deficient, are nevertheless in need of considerable improvement.

REFUSE DEFICIENCIES

PLATE 15



Blacks in which 100% of Housing Units have Inadequate Facilities for Storage of Garbage and Trash

Source: Cumberland County Health Department

Plate 16: Rubble Piles

The Cumberland County Health Department's 1961 survey found accumulations of trash and rubble on 615, or 85 per cent, of the city's 724 blocks. There were rubble piles on 4,476 of the city's premises.

The effects of open trash piles upon the neighborhood's (and city's) health and appearance are similar to those stemming from inadequate refuse storage. Flies, mosquitoes, and rats are attracted in large numbers. There is the additional hazard of fire. These and other consequences of rubbles heaps add up to one fact: an increase in blight.

In keeping with this report's emphasis upon the quality of neighborhoods for residential purposes, Plate 16 depicts those areas in which the careless disposal of trash has impinged most directly upon residences. This is done, first, by showing blocks in which there are one or more rubble piles per every two housing units; and second, by showing all blocks with 20 or more rubble piles even though their ratio to housing units is below that specified above. (For example: a block featuring 7 housing units and 3 rubble piles would not be shaded on the map. A block with 7 housing units and 4 rubble piles would be shaded in accordance with the first category above, as would one with 50 housing units and 30 rubble piles. One with 70 housing units and 30 rubble piles, however, would be shaded in accordance with the second category due to its lower ratio.)

RUBBLE PILES

PLATE 16

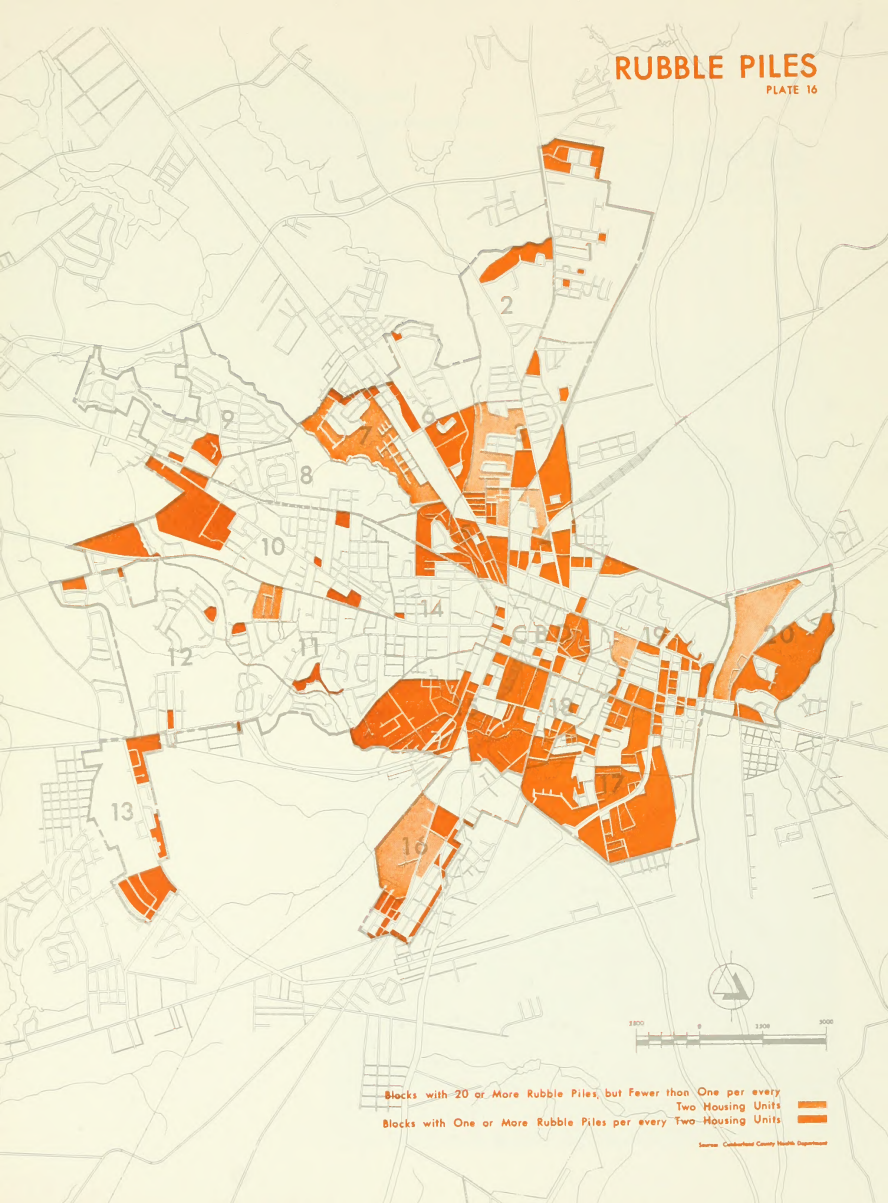


TABLE 5

ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS

Neighborhood	Per Cent of Population	Mixed Land Use		Major Fires		Unpoved Streets		Norrow Streets		Pedestrion Accidents		Privies		Refuse Deficiencies		Rubble Piles	
		No.[a]	%	No. in 1961	%	Feet Unpaved	%	Feet Narrow	%	No. in 1961	%	No.	%	No.[b]	%	No.	%
1	3.3	4	1.9	1	3.2	20,555	9.1	---	---	1	1.7	8	0.9	4	3.3	88	2.0
2	2.2	7	3.3	---	---	5,000	2.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	60	1.4
3	4.8	6	2.9	---	---	7,255	3.2	2,885	3.9	1	1.7	17	2.0	2	1.7	107	2.4
4	5.2	19	9.1	6	19.3	15,400	6.9	1,210	1.6	3	5.1	18	2.1	5	4.1	425	9.6
5	4.2	18	8.6	2	6.5	16,810	7.5	7,560	10.3	1.5	2.5	48	5.6	9	7.4	391	8.8
6	4.8	2	1.0	2	6.5	7,740	3.4	---	---	2.5	4.2	8	0.9	2	1.7	153	3.5
7	3.4	4	1.9	---	---	10,115	4.5	1,655	2.3	2	3.4	15	1.7	4	3.3	98	2.2
8	3.0	1	0.5	---	---	1,655	0.7	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	36	0.8
9	5.1	2	1.0	1	3.2	1,130	0.5	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	0.8	94	2.1
10	9.1	4	1.9	1	3.2	6,325	2.8	1,370	1.9	2	3.4	---	---	2	1.7	257	5.8
11	6.2	1	0.5	2	6.5	5,440	2.4	4,315	5.9	---	---	---	---	1	0.8	164	3.7
12	3.3	4	1.9	1	3.2	3,545	1.6	---	---	1	1.7	---	---	1	0.8	81	1.8
13	1.5	2	1.0	---	---	485	0.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	2.5	88	2.0
14	5.8	10	4.8	1	3.2	5,725	2.6	5,600	7.6	3.7	6.3	8	0.9	---	---	101	2.3
15	6.8	24	11.5	1	3.2	28,980	12.9	13,945	19.0	5.1	8.6	109	12.6	27	22.3	612	13.8
16	6.0	22	10.5	4	12.9	25,960	11.5	4,230	5.8	3.5	5.9	200	23.1	13	10.8	330	7.4
17	10.7	23	11.0	2	6.5	35,410	15.8	16,885	23.0	6	10.2	381	44.1	18	14.9	599	13.5
18	4.4	12	5.7	2	6.5	5,060	2.3	2,820	3.8	5	8.5	1	0.1	5	4.1	164	3.7
19	6.9	22	10.5	1	3.2	13,220	5.9	3,870	5.3	6.5	11.0	16	1.9	14	11.6	343	7.7
20	1.3	6	2.9	---	---	6,730	3.0	2,175	3.0	2	3.4	19	2.2	5	4.1	65	1.5
CBD	2.0	16	7.6	4	12.9	2,300	1.0	4,835	6.6	13.2	22.4	16	1.9	5	4.1	179	4.0
Total	100.0	209	100.0	31	100.0	224,840	100.0	73,355	100.0	59	100.0	864	100.0	121	100.0	4,435	100.0

[a]No. of Blocks with Mixed Land Use.
[b]No. of Blocks 100% deficient.

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

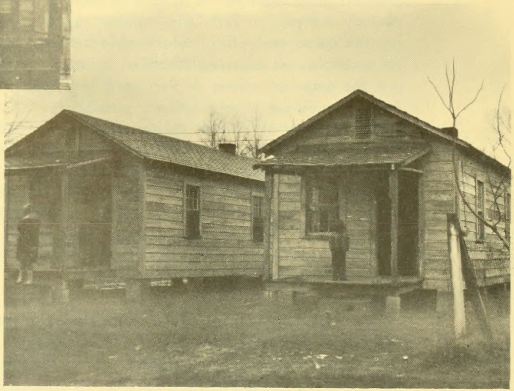


Plate 17: Major Crimes (By Residence of Offenders)

Throughout the country, blighted areas tend to contribute more than their proportionate share to the bundle of social problems afflicting cities. We have already warned, in Part One, against the drawing of hasty conclusions regarding the cause-and-effect relationship between blight and social problems. It is for example, an oversimplification to assert, without qualifications, that slums are the cause of crime; if this were true, slum clearance would eradicate all crime as well--a highly unlikely possibility. On the one hand, it is equally questionable--and rather callous as well--to conclude that slums exist solely because of the life patterns and morals of those who live in them. The truth probably lies somewhere between these two extremes. There are, to be sure, criminals incapable of rehabilitation; the physical improvement of their neighborhoods would not lessen their propensity to break the law. It is equally certain, however, that there are real or potential criminals who are products of their environment, and whose lives might be far different but for the degrading surroundings within which they must reside.

Plate 17 shows the place of residence of persons, who in 1961, committed crimes against property (robbery, burglary, or larceny) and crimes against persons (murder, rape, or assault). In its total impact, Plate 17 serves as one more index of blight in Fayetteville. It does not, nor can it possibly, explain the causative relationship between crime and blight. It shows the "where," but not the "why." It is hoped, however, that plates such as this will alert Fayetteville's citizenry to the need for betterment.

MAJOR CRIMES

BY RESIDENCE OF OFFENDER PLATE 17

Residence of Person Committing Robbery, Burglary, or Larceny in 1961 ○

Residence of Person Committing Murder, Rape, or Assault in 1961 ●

Source: Fayetteville Police Department

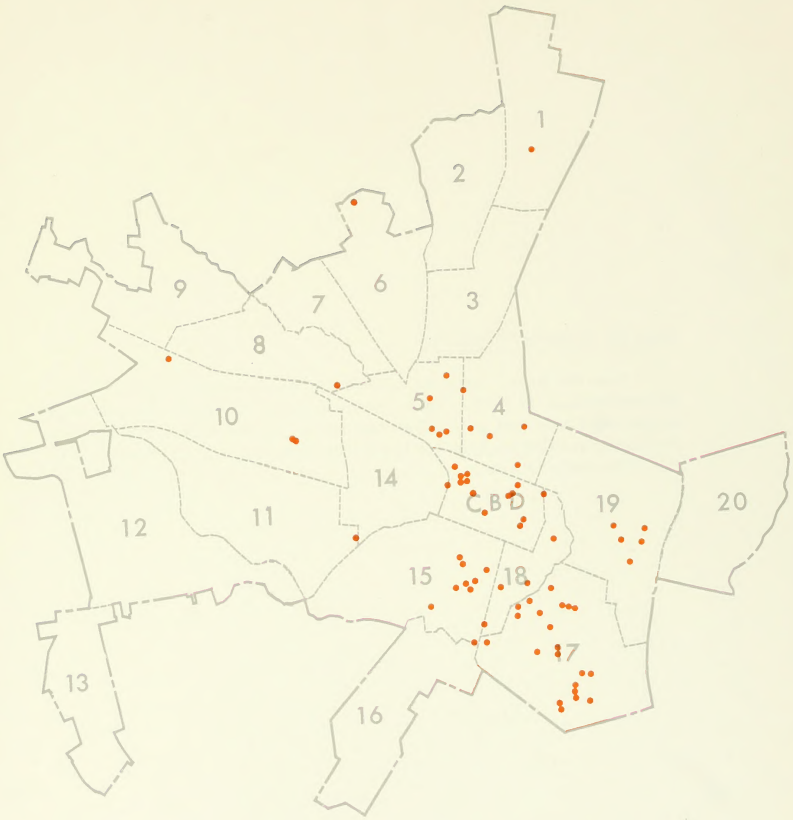
Plate 18: Major Crimes (By Place of Crime)

In Plate 18, which shows where Fayetteville's major crimes took place in 1961, only crimes against persons (murder, rape, or assault) have been considered. Crimes against property tend to be concentrated downtown and along the major commercial thoroughfares; plotting their location on a map would reveal little about the character of the various neighborhoods. Crimes of violence, however, are relatively independent of specific types of land use or structures. Their location, then, serves as a further indication of blight.

MAJOR CRIMES

BY PLACE OF CRIME

PLATE 18



Place of a Murder, Rape, or Assault in 1961 ●

Source: Fayetteville Police Department

Plate 19: Juvenile Delinquency

Here the focus is upon the residences of youths committing acts of juvenile delinquency in 1961. (Again, a map showing the sites of the acts themselves would only tend to highlight the central business district and the major thoroughfares radiating from it.) The general congruence among Plates 17, 18, and 19 is worthy of note.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

PLATE 19

Residence of Offender- 1961

Source: Fayetteville Police Department

Plate 20: Illegitimate Births

Plate 20 shows the place of residence of women giving births to illegitimate children in 1961. It might be fair to note that the picture revealed in Plate 20 is not entirely accurate. It is a well-known fact that persons with sufficient financial resources may, when faced with the prospect of an illegitimate birth, leave the city or take some other action to avoid the social stigma attached to illegitimacy. Plate 20, based upon data taken from birth certificates, would not show these cases. Since their number is probably small, however, Plate 20 may be considered a reasonably reliable portrayal of the geographical distribution of illegitimacy. (That a person lacks the resources or the will to avoid "facing the music" in her own community may itself be another, more subtle index of blight.)

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS

PLATE 20

Illegitimate Birth-1961

Source: Cumberland County Health Department

Plate 21: Infant Mortality

Infant mortality here refers to the death of infants under one year of age. Plate 21 shows the place of residence of parents who lost infants in 1961.

While there may be unique circumstances surrounding any particular infant death, rates of infant mortality in different areas will generally reflect the character of their respective physical and social environments. Dilapidated and insufficient sanitary facilities are associated with high rates of infant mortality because of their debilitating effects on both the baby (after delivery) and the mother (before and during pregnancy). Other aspects of low-income status, such as inadequate clothing and diet, also take their toll.

INFANT MORTALITY

PLATE 21

Infant Death-1961

Source: Cumberland County Health Department

Plate 22: Tuberculosis

Tuberculosis is not caused by the tubercle bacillus alone. A majority of the people who are exposed to tubercle bacilli do not contract the disease. Tuberculosis apparently develops only where the necessary tubercle baccillus is combined with certain other environmental, physiological, and social conditions. While the exact nature of this combination is elusive, it seems to occur more frequently in slums than elsewhere. The low economic status, overcrowding, and inadequate sunlight and fresh air which contribute so directly to infant mortality appear to play a similar role in the development of tuberculosis. Plate 22 shows the place of residence of persons contracting tuberculosis in 1961.

TUBERCULOSIS

PLATE 22

New Case Reported in 1960 and 1961 ●

Source: Cumberland County Health Department

Plate 23: Venereal Disease

Blighted areas generally contain more than their proportionate share of venereal disease cases. The immediate causes are many: the unwillingness or inability of some slum dwellers to adhere to the moral precepts of the dominant middle-class society; their lack of education regarding the consequences of certain of their acts; the lack of a set of strong communal ties to bind the neighborhood together and regulate the conduct of its residents; etc. Beneath these direct causes, however, may be other, more subtle factors, related at least in part to the environment itself. The physical surroundings of the slum do little to hinder the spread of venereal disease, and may even abet it. The relationship between blight and venereal disease is well illustrated in Plate 23.

VENEREAL DISEASE

PLATE 23

Case Treated in 1961 •

Source: Cumberland County Health Department

TABLE 6

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Neighborhoods	Per Cent of Population	Major Crimes[a]		Major Crimes[b]		Juvenile Delinquency[c]		Illegitimate Births		Infant Mortality		Tuberculosis		Venereal Disease	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	3.3	---	---	1	1.4	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	5.4	1	0.7
2	2.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	1.0	---	---	---	---	---	---
3	4.8	3	1.3	---	---	---	---	2	2.0	2	5.0	1	2.7	2	1.4
4	5.2	18	7.4	4	5.7	3	7.9	9	9.2	2	5.0	4	10.8	11	7.6
5	4.2	20	8.3	6	8.6	9	23.7	7	7.2	---	---	1	2.7	12	8.3
6	4.8	6	2.5	1	1.4	2	5.3	9	9.2	---	---	3	8.1	14	9.7
7	3.4	2	0.8	---	---	---	---	4	4.1	4	10.0	---	---	1	0.7
8	3.0	3	1.3	1	1.4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
9	5.1	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	1.0	3	7.5	---	---	---	---
10	9.1	2	0.8	3	4.3	---	---	---	---	2	5.0	3	8.1	---	---
11	6.2	7	2.9	1	1.4	---	---	3	3.1	---	---	1	2.7	1	0.7
12	3.3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
13	1.5	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	1.0	---	---	---	---	---	---
14	5.8	4	1.7	1	1.4	1	2.6	1	1.0	1	2.5	3	8.1	5	3.4
15	6.8	47	19.4	9	12.9	1	2.6	21	21.4	7	17.5	4	10.8	22	15.2
16	6.0	10	4.1	1	1.4	2	5.3	---	---	2	5.0	1	2.7	7	4.8
17	10.7	62	25.6	21	30.0	11	28.9	26	26.5	9	22.5	5	13.6	38	26.2
18	4.4	14	5.8	3	4.3	2	5.3	8	8.2	3	7.5	4	10.8	9	6.2
19	6.9	24	9.9	5	7.2	2	5.3	3	3.1	3	7.5	4	10.8	15	10.3
20	1.3	3	1.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	2.7	---	---
CBD	2.0	17	7.0	13	18.6	5	13.1	2	2.0	2	5.0	---	---	7	4.8
Totol	100.0	242	100.0	70	100.0	38	100.0	98	100.0	40	100.0	37	100.0	145	100.0

[a]Residence of Offender.
[b]Ploce of Crime.
[c]Residence of Offender.

PART THREE:

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Part Two of this report examined the location and extent of blight in Fayetteville, as indicated by twenty-one factors commonly associated with blight in urban neighborhoods. It should be noted at this point that all of Fayetteville's neighborhoods contain at least some elements of blight. This, of course, cannot be interpreted as meaning that Fayetteville's better neighborhoods are on the verge of becoming slums. It does suggest, however, that even the best neighborhoods are susceptible to gradual incursions of those factors which can ultimately depress property values and create social problems. No neighborhood in Fayetteville (or any other city) can afford to lower its guard against blight.

As noted earlier, a major purpose of this report has been the identification of Fayetteville's "trouble spots." Viewed in their entirety, the plates in Part Two perform this function very well. While congruence among the plates is far from perfect, they nevertheless point consistently to a small number of neighborhoods as being those most infested with blight.

Table 7 on the following two pages provides a basis for ranking Fayetteville's neighborhoods according to their outcomes in all twenty-one of the indices employed in this report. The table was prepared as follows: First, a method was found for ranking the neighborhoods numerically in each of the twenty-one indices. (Some of the methods used are less precise than others, but all provide a valid basis for comparison.) This having been done, the ranks on the twenty-one indices were then added together for each neighborhood to derive its total "score." The higher the score, the greater the degree of blight. (Thus the best possible score, for a neighborhood ranking first in all the indices, would be 1 x 21, or 21; the worst possible score, for a neighborhood ranking last in all the indices, would be 21 x 21, or 441. The actual range obtained was from a low of 69 to a high of 386.)

Figure 1 on page 72 portrays graphically the comparative degrees of blight in Fayetteville's neighborhoods, based upon the scores derived in the above manner.

TABLE 7

COMPARISON OF NEIGHBORHOODS BY ALL TWENTY-ONE INDICES

Neighborhood	Housing Units Renter-Occupied		Housing Units Deteriarating or Dilapidated		Housing Units Inadequate Plumbing		Housing Units Overcrowded		Average Rent		Average Value		Residential Blocks with Mixed Land Use		Major Fires per 1,000 Persons		Street Mileage Less that 40 ft. in width		Street Mileage Unpaved		Pedestrian Accidents per 1,000 Persons	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	$	Rank	$	Rank	%	Rank	Rate	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	Rate	Rank
1	25.6	3	5.6	5	4.4	6	10.4	9	68	9	10,450	9	16.0	7	0.65	14	0.00	1	60.72	20	0.65	9
2	37.4	8	21.2	11	7.1	9	13.1	11	64	6	10,675	8	50.0	15	---	1	0.00	1	20.69	11	---	1
3	29.5	5	13.8	8	8.3	10	9.6	8	57	10	8,975	12	24.0	9	---	1	6.67	11	16.77	9	0.44	6
4	57.0	13	46.2	16	45.7	16	18.2	12	38	16	7,975	13	57.6	19	2.42	20	3.50	9	44.57	16	1.21	13
5	54.4	12	48.6	19	55.1	20	26.5	18	40	15	6,750	16	58.1	20	1.01	18	21.87	19	48.62	18	0.76	10
6	33.9	7	28.1	12	6.3	8	20.8	16	53	12	10,400	10	8.7	5	0.89	16	0.00	1	22.33	12	1.11	11
7	59.1	16	14.8	9	18.7	12	22.0	17	56	11	7,250	15	30.8	11	---	1	7.20	13	44.03	15	1.27	15
8	29.9	6	11.9	7	0.9	3	4.9	3	77	2	12,000	7	5.3	3	---	1	0.00	1	6.36	3	---	1
9	57.7	15	1.6	2	0.7	2	6.6	5	69	5	17,125	3	5.7	4	0.42	12	0.00	1	2.01	1	---	1
10	38.1	9	4.8	4	1.7	5	3.7	1	73	4	15,150	5	5.2	2	0.23	7	1.64	8	7.59	6	0.47	7
11	26.6	4	18.8	10	5.5	7	4.4	2	60	8	22,250	1	2.4	1	0.68	15	6.31	10	7.96	7	---	1
12	17.7	2	2.9	3	1.0	4	7.2	6	76	3	18,725	2	12.9	6	0.64	13	0.00	1	7.04	5	0.64	8
13	13.2	1	0.5	1	0.0	1	5.5	4	86	1	13,075	6	16.7	8	---	1	0.00	1	2.86	2	---	1
14	57.2	14	8.9	6	8.8	11	7.5	7	64	7	16,025	4	25.0	10	0.37	10	11.82	17	12.08	8	1.34	16
15	65.9	18	68.4	21	66.6	21	27.7	19	32	20	6,225	17	60.0	21	0.31	9	22.82	20	47.42	17	1.60	17
16	46.7	11	46.8	17	42.0	15	18.9	13	35	17	5,550	19	46.8	13	1.42	19	8.22	15	50.45	19	1.25	14
17	68.3	19	43.7	15	52.9	19	36.9	21	34	19	5,675	18	46.9	14	0.40	11	43.56	21	91.35	21	1.19	12
18	68.8	20	47.2	18	46.5	17	19.4	14	46	13	10,300	11	42.9	12	0.96	17	11.11	16	19.93	10	2.39	19
19	65.7	17	42.3	13	38.9	14	27.9	20	32	21	5,200	20	55.0	17	0.31	8	7.15	12	24.43	14	2.00	18
20	45.9	10	49.7	20	26.8	13	20.1	15	35	18	7,575	14	50.0	15	---	1	7.77	14	24.04	13	3.29	20
CBD	69.7	21	43.7	14	48.6	18	12.9	10	44	14	---	---	57.1	18	4.28	21	13.83	18	6.58	4	14.10	21

The method used to derive neighborhood scores is admittedly a crude one; it provides a basis for comparison, but can make no claims to statistical precision. There are at least two reasons for this. First, the method assumes that all twenty-one indices were equally important as measurements of blight. This is obviously not true; the figures on major fires or pedestrian accidents, for example, are less important than those on housing unit conditions or juvenile delinquency. Correction of this deficiency would have required that the twenty-one indices be "weighted" in accordance with their respective importance. Given the lack of any objective tests to determine the proper weight for each factor, however, assignment of weights in this case would have been purely arbitrary, and was therefore not done. It is hoped that the relatively large number of indices employed has caused such inequities as may exist to "average out" in the final scores.

Second, the method used here ignores the widely varying gaps which exist, in any one index, between the actual numerical outcomes of the different neighborhoods. Thus, on one index, the actual gap between the neighborhoods ranked "1" and "2" might be quite large, the gap between "2" and "3" very small, etc., but these gaps are not reflected in the total score for each neighborhood. Again it is assumed that the errors which result tend to "average out."

TABLE 7 (CON'T.)

COMPARISON OF NEIGHBORHOODS BY ALL TWENTY-ONE INDICES

Privies per 100 Housing Units		Blocks with 100% Refuse Deficiencies		Rubble Piles per 1,000 Housing Units		Major Crimes (by Res. of Offender) per 1,000 Persons		Major Crimes (by Ploce of Crime) per 1,000 Persons		Juvenile Delinquency per 1,000 Persons		Illigitimote Births per 1,000 Persons		Infant Deoths per 1,000 Persons		TB Coses per 1,000 Persons		VD Cases per 1,000 Persons		Total Score (Summation of Ranks)	Over-All Rank	Neighbor-hood
Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank			
1.87	12	14.81	12	20.51	9	---	1	0.65	12	---	1	---	1	---	1	1.29	17	0.65	10	168	8	1
0.00	1	0.00	1	20.20	8	---	1	---	1	---	1	0.95	11	---	1	---	1	---	1	109	5	2
2.50	14	8.00	8	15.71	4	1.33	8	---	1	---	1	0.89	9	0.89	14	0.44	10	0.89	11	169	9	3
2.37	13	13.51	11	56.07	19	7.27	16	1.62	17	1.21	18	3.63	17	0.81	13	1.62	19	4.44	15	321	17	4
9.27	17	29.03	17	75.48	21	10.15	18	3.04	19	4.57	20	3.55	16	---	1	0.51	11	6.09	17	342	19	5
1.65	10	8.70	9	31.61	12	2.66	12	0.44	11	0.89	16	3.99	19	---	1	1.33	18	6.20	18	236	12	6
3.46	15	30.77	18	22.63	11	1.27	7	---	1	---	1	2.53	15	2.53	21	---	1	0.63	9	234	11	7
0.00	1	0.00	1	8.28	1	2.15	10	0.72	14	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	1	69	1	8
0.00	1	2.44	5	12.69	3	---	1	---	1	---	1	0.42	8	1.26	16	---	1	---	1	89	4	9
0.00	1	2.56	6	18.12	5	0.47	6	0.70	13	---	1	---	1	0.47	11	0.70	12	---	1	115	6	10
0.00	1	2.38	4	18.39	6	2.38	11	0.34	8	---	1	1.02	12	---	1	0.34	8	0.34	8	126	7	11
0.00	1	2.94	7	18.41	7	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	1	75	2	12
0.00	1	23.08	14	43.14	16	---	1	---	1	---	1	1.43	13	---	1	---	1	---	1	77	3	13
0.80	9	0.00	1	10.04	2	1.46	9	0.37	10	0.37	13	0.37	7	0.37	10	1.10	14	1.83	12	197	10	14
12.63	19	61.36	21	70.92	20	14.58	20	2.79	18	0.31	12	6.52	21	2.17	20	1.24	16	6.83	19	386	21	15
23.12	20	26.53	15	38.15	14	3.56	13	0.36	9	0.71	15	---	1	0.71	12	0.36	9	2.49	13	293	14	16
31.96	21	34.62	20	50.25	18	12.28	19	4.16	20	2.18	19	5.15	20	1.78	18	0.99	13	7.53	21	379	20	17
0.13	8	17.24	13	21.08	10	6.70	15	1.43	15	0.96	17	3.83	18	1.43	17	1.91	21	4.30	14	315	15	18
1.79	11	28.00	16	38.28	15	7.37	17	1.54	16	0.61	14	0.92	10	0.92	15	1.23	15	4.61	16	319	16	19
10.50	18	31.25	19	35.91	13	4.94	14	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	1	1.65	20	---	1	242	13	20
4.04	16	10.87	10	45.20	17	18.20	21	13.92	21	5.35	21	2.14	14	2.14	19	---	1	7.49	20	336	18	CBD

It must be emphasized, then, that Table 7 is a device for purposes of comparison only, rather than for precise statistical measurement. Viewed in this perspective, the results of Table 7 are of considerable interest. Neighborhood #15-Blount Street emerges as the area of greatest blight, followed closely by Neighborhood #17-Southeast Fayetteville. In general, the most blighted neighborhoods are those in the eastern portion of the city; conditions are better in the western and northwestern portions.

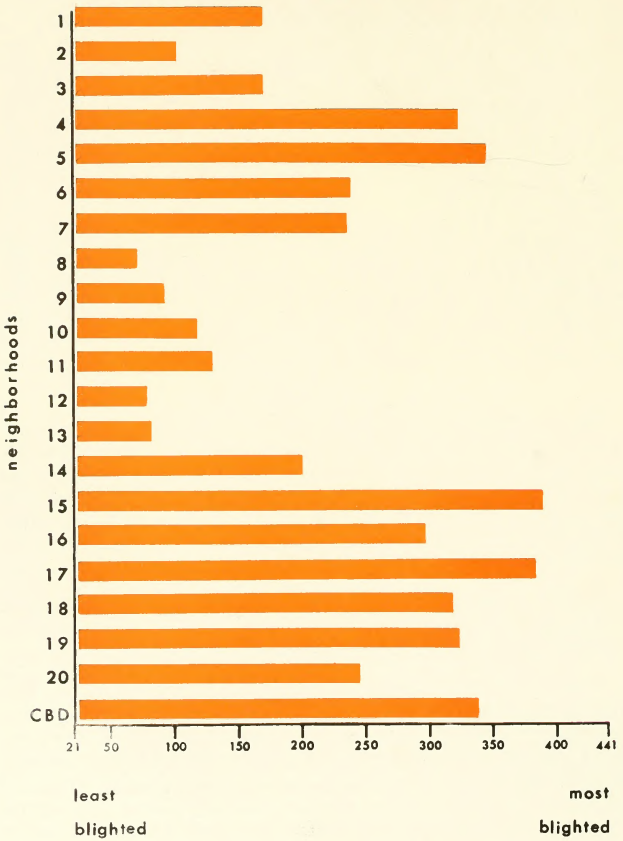
Plate 24 on page 75 shows the seven most blighted neighborhoods (Area "A") and the seven least blighted neighborhoods (Area "B"). The remaining seven neighborhoods, the "middle third," fall somewhere in between.

Area "A," the most blighted, contains 40% of the city's population, 30% of its total land area. Area "B," the least blighted, contains 30% of the City's population, 40% of its land area. The set of figures on pages 74-78 clearly reveals the relationship between overall blight and the individual factors investigated in this report.

FIGURE 1

COMPARATIVE DEGREES OF BLIGHT

IN FAYETTEVILLE'S NEIGHBORHOODS



DEGREES OF BLIGHT

PLATE 24

Seven Most Blighted Neighborhoods: Area "A"
Seven Least Blighted Neighborhoods: Area "B"
Seven "in-between" Neighborhoods

Source: Fayetteville Planning Department

Housing Characteristics:

(1) 49% of Fayetteville's housing units are renter-occupied.
65% of the housing units in Area "A" are renter-occupied.

(2) 28% of Fayetteville's housing units are deteriorating or dilapidated.
49% of the housing units in Area "A" are deteriorating or dilapidated.
9% of the housing units in Area "B" are deteriorating or dilapidated.

(3) 25% of Fayetteville's housing units lack adequate plumbing facilities.
51% of the housing units in Area "A" lack adequate plumbing facilities.
2% of the housing units in Area "B" lack adequate plumbing facilities.

(4) 16% of Fayetteville's housing units are overcrowded.
26% of the housing units in Area "A" are overcrowded.
5% of the housing units in Area "B" are overcrowded.

Economic Characteristics:

(5) Average monthly rent in Fayetteville is $48.
Average monthly rent in Area "A" is $37.
Average monthly rent in Area "B" is $70.

(6) Average value of Fayetteville's owner-occupied housing units is $11,750.
Average value of owner-occupied housing units in Area "A" is $6,600.
Average value of owner-occupied housing units in Area "B" is $16,775.

Environmental Characteristics:

(7) 31% of Fayetteville's residential blocks contain mixed land use.
54% of the residential blocks in Area "A" contain mixed land use.
9% of the residential blocks in Area "B" contain mixed land use.

(8) Of Fayetteville's 31 major fires in 1961,
58% occurred in Area "A,"
16% occurred in Area "B."

(9) Approximately 26% of Fayetteville's street mileage is unpaved.
Approximately 41% of the street mileage in Area "A" is unpaved.
Approximately 7% of the street mileage in Area "B" is unpaved.

(10) Approximately 8% of Fayetteville's street mileage is excessively narrow.
Approximately 18% of the street mileage in Area "A" is excessively narrow.
Approximately 2% of the street mileage in Area "B" is excessively narrow.

(11) Of Fayetteville's 59 accidents to pedestrians in 1961,
68% occurred in Area "A,"
5% occurred in Area "B."

(12) Of Fayetteville's 871 privies,
68% are in Area "A,"
None are in Area "B."

(13) All housing units have refuse storage deficiencies in 18% of Fayetteville's residential blocks.
All housing units have refuse storage deficiencies in 33% of the residential blocks in Area "A."
All housing units have refuse storage deficiencies in 3% of the residential blocks in Area "B."

(14) Of Fayetteville's 4,476 rubble piles,
61% are in Area "A,"
18% are in Area "B."

(15) Of the 242 major crimes committed in Fayetteville in 1961 by residents of the city,
83% were committed by persons living in Area "A,"
5% were committed by persons living in Area "B."

(16) Of the 70 major crimes of violence committed in Fayetteville in 1961,
87% occurred in Area "A,"
7% occurred in Area "B."

(17) Of the 38 Fayetteville juvenile delinquents arrested in 1961,
87% lived in Area "A,"
None lived in Area "B."

(18) Of the 98 women giving birth to illegitimate children in 1961,
78% lived in Area "A,"
6% lived in Area "B."

(19) Of the 40 sets of parents whose infants died in 1961,
60% lived in Area "A,"
11% lived in Area "B."

(20) Of the 37 new tuberculosis cases reported in 1961,
60% lived in Area "A,"
11% lived in Area "B."

(21) Of the 145 persons treated for venereal disease in 1961,
79% lived in Area "A,"
1% lived in Area "B."

These figures provide excellent support for the statements made in Part One regarding the costliness of blighted areas, in terms of both public expenditures and human values. The entire city stands to benefit from a vigorous attack upon blight in Fayetteville's neighborhoods.

Recommendations

The causes of blight, as the preceding pages have made clear, are numerous and complex. In view of this fact, it must be realized that piecemeal attacks upon neighborhood decay--treating each problem as distinct from and unrelated to the others--can only lead to frustration and failure. Clearly a comprehensive approach is required, one which simultaneously attacks all of the problems related to blight.

The term used to designate such a "total approach" is urban renewal. More specifically, urban renewal may be defined as a city-wide program in which all appropriate and available resources--public and private--are directed, in accordance with a locally-prepared plan, toward the elimination of slums and blight.

The program of action needed to accomplish a city's renewal generally consists of three types of treatment:

(1) Redevelopment is the process of demolishing slum structures, clearing their sites, and making the land available to private or public agencies for use in accordance with the city's master plan. Redevelopment applies to areas in the most advanced stages of blight, and must be accompanied by a program for the relocation of persons required to move.

(2) Rehabilitation, the treatment appropriate to areas suffering from the early stages of blight, entails the repair and alteration of deteriorating structures by property owners; the removal of pockets of dilapidated, non-salvable housing through "spot clearance"; the provision of needed public improvements; and extensive application of conservation techniques where appropriate.

(3) Conservation is the method used to prevent the formation of blight in areas of sound housing. It consists of the rigid enforcement of appropriate codes and ordinances, to assure desirable land use and density patterns; the effective performance of municipal housekeeping functions; and adequate provision of facilities, utilities, and traffic controls.

It is not the purpose of the present report to specify which type of treatment should be given to each of Fayetteville's neighborhoods. When the time arrives for making such decisions, however, it is hoped that this report will serve as a useful guide and source of information.

Some conclusions, of course, are obvious to one who has studied this report in its entirety. Large-scale redevelopment appears to be needed in parts of Neighborhoods #15-Blount Street, #17-Southeast Fayetteville and perhaps

#5-Murchison Road as well. At the other extreme, many of the neighborhoods in the western part of the city need only maintain their present character; in other words, they require a program of conservation. For still other neighborhoods, generally located in the central and eastern portions of the city, an active program of rehabilitation, along with some "spot clearance," is needed.

It should be noted that the Central Business District constitutes a rather special case. Throughout this report we have been evaluating Fayetteville's neighborhoods on the basis of their desirability for residential purposes. Since the primary function of the CBD is not residential we have perhaps treated it unjustly. It will suffice here to note that the CBD has unique problems related to its own specialized set of functions, and that these problems are already under study by public and private groups working in concert.

TABLES

ILLUSTRATIONS